

Message Text

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INFO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 075525

E.O. 11652:GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PORG, EGEN, UN, UNGA
SUBJECT: UNGA SPECIAL SESSION: BACKGROUND AND GENERAL
GUIDANCE

ROME ALSO FOR FODAG, VIENNA ALSO FOR UNIDO, PARIS
ALSO FOR UNESCO

1. SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUESTED. THIS CABLE PROVIDES POSTS WITH BASIC BACKGROUND FACTS REGARDING UNGA SPECIAL SESSION (7TH SS) ON "DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION", SEPTEMBER 1-12; DESCRIBES ANTICIPATED ISSUES AND APPROACH WE ARE PURSUING; AND REQUESTS EMBASSIES TO CONTRIBUTE TO PREPARATIONS BY COMMENTING ON TACTICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE POSSIBILITIES RELATING TO SPECIFIC COUNTRIES AND TO REPORT THINKING OF HOST COUNTRIES AS INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE (NO SPECIAL DEMARCHES ARE REQUESTED). WE SEE 7TH SS AS TEST OF WHETHER RESPONSIBLE DISCUSSION OF AND ACTION ON CRITICAL WORLD ISSUES OF CONCERN TO BOTH LDCS AND US CAN TAKE PLACE IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONTEXT. TO BE MEANINGFUL TEST, WE APPRECIATE THAT WE AND OTHER DCS NEED TO MAKE SERIOUS AND SUSTAINED EFFORT TO PREPARE FOR SESSION. MOREOVER, EVIDENT SIGNIFICANCE OF WORLD-WIDE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE WARRANTS GENUINE EFFORT BY US TO INFLUENCE MAJOR MEETINGS LIKE 7TH SS TOWARD COOPERATIVE AND
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CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION. OUR OVERALL OBJECTIVE WORKING

TOWARDS 7TH SS AND BEYOND IN 30TH UNGA WILL BE TO FIND AREAS WHERE THERE IS POSSIBILITY OF MUTUAL BENEFIT FOR BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ACCORDINGLY, WE WILL BE REVIEWING WITH OPEN MIND POSSIBILITIES FOR CONSTRUCTIVE US OR DC INITIATIVES. IN MEANTIME, WE BELIEVE EFFORT SHOULD BEGIN TO ANALYZE PROBLEMS, IDENTIFY OPPORTUNITIES, AND BUILD RELATIONSHIPS WHICH CAN HELP US BEGIN TO SHIFT AWAY FROM RECENT PATTERNS OF CONFRONTATION. END SUMMARY.

2. ORIGIN OF 7TH SS. DECISION TO HOLD 7TH SS, ORIGINALLY

A NON-ALIGNED INITIATIVE, WAS TAKEN IN DECEMBER 1973 AT 28TH UNGA BY GA RES 3172. EMPHASIS WAS PLACED ON PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT, AS WELL AS GENERAL WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND ON INITIATING STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE UN SYSTEM. RESOLUTION REFLECTED STATED LDC DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THEIR RECENT ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND WITH FAILURE OF DCS TO TAKE WHAT THEY CONSIDERED TO BE SIGNIFICANT MEASURES TO ASSIST DEVELOPMENT PROCESS. 6TH SPECIAL SESSION TOOK PLACE LAST SPRING AGAINST BACKDROP OF OIL CRISIS AND GA ADOPTED, THROUGH TECHNIQUE OF STEAMROLLER, COMPREHENSIVE DECLARATION AND PROGRAM OF ACTION ON ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER. THESE DOCUMENTS, CONTAINING MANY FEATURES SERIOUSLY OBJECTIONABLE TO U.S. AND OTHER DCS, COVERED ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, UTILIZING NOW-STANDARD LDC/NON-ALIGNED FORMULATIONS WHICH WERE NOT SUBJECT TO GENUINE NEGOTIATION WITH DCS. SINCE THEN, RESOLUTIONS ON 7TH SS HAVE BEEN ADOPTED BOTH IN ECOSOC AND IN 29TH UNGA CALLING FOR SERIES OF PREPARATORY MEETINGS AND REFERRING BOTH TO DECLARATION AND PROGRAM OF ACTION AND TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY AS RAW MATERIAL FOR 7TH SS. LATTER DOCUMENT, WHICH GA ADOPTED IN 1970 AS BASIS FOR UN'S SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE WAS SUBJECT OF GENUINE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN LDCS AND DCS AND IS ONE WHICH U.S. AND OTHER DCS GENERALLY SUPPORT, THOUGH WITH RESERVATIONS. (FOR BACKGROUND, POSTS SHOULD REFER TO A-4568 AND STATE 99106 (NOTAL) AND 104050 ON THE SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION; A-453 (JANUARY 1974) ON 1973 REVIEW AND APPRAISAL EXERCISE; AND CONFIDENTIAL

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FORTHCOMING AIRGRAM ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES AT 29TH SESSION OF GA).

3. PREPARATIONS WILL BE RESPONSIBILITY OF A PREPARATORY COMMITTEE (OPEN TO ALL UN MEMBERS) AND ECOSOC. AT ITS FIRST (ORGANIZATIONAL) SESSION MARCH 3-7, PREPCOM AGREED TO SET UP INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AMONG MISSIONS IN NY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON NATURE OF WORK OF 7TH SS AND ITS ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT 7TH SS SHOULD FOCUS ON LIMITED NUMBER OF PROBLEMS ON WHICH LDCS LOOKED FORWARD TO "CONCRETE ACTION." LDC TONE WAS RELATIVELY MODERATE. PREPCOM'S FIRST SUBSTANTIVE SESSION (JUNE 16-27) WILL PROVIDE MUCH FULLER PICTURE OF PROSPECTS FOR 7TH SS.

4. CALENDAR OF RELATED MEETINGS. CONTENT AND TONE OF 7TH SS WILL BE STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY RESULTS OF A MULTIPLICITY OF MEETINGS BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE UN SYSTEM. UN HAS BEGUN "MID-TERM REVIEW AND APPRAISAL" OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY. ECOSOC'S REVIEW AND APPRAISAL COMMITTEE WILL MEET IN MAY. ECOSOC ITSELF WILL, AT ITS JULY SESSION, CONSIDER REPORTS OF BOTH REVIEW AND

APPRAISAL COMMITTEE AND 7TH SS PREPCOM. OTHER IMPORTANT UN MEETINGS ARE SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNIDO (ENDED MARCH 26), AND THE PLENARY MEETINGS OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS. OUTSIDE UN FRAMEWORK, THE PROPOSED OIL PRODUCER/CONSUMER CONFERENCE WILL BE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE. ALSO SIGNIFICANT WILL BE SUCH MEETINGS AS OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE, OECD MINISTERIAL MEETING, MEETING OF OAU HEADS OF STATE, AND NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN LIMA IMMEDIATELY BEFORE OPENING OF 7TH SS.

5. INTERESTS OF LDCS. WE CANNOT NOW BE CERTAIN OF DETAILS OR FORM OF PROPOSALS LIKELY TO BE MADE BY LDCS FOR CONSIDERATION AND ENDORSEMENT AT 7TH SS. HOWEVER, ON BASIS OF PAST LDC POSITIONS AND SUCH RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AS DAKAR CONFERENCE ON COMMODITIES, MINISTERIAL MEETING OF ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA AND PRE-UNIDO MINISTERIAL MEETING OF GROUP OF 77 IN ALGIERS, WE HAVE FAIR IDEA OF POSSIBILITIES INCLUDING EXTREME PROGRAM BEING CONFIDENTIAL

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PUSHED HARD BY ALGERIA. LDC GROUP OF 77 IS GENERALLY SEEKING TO ALTER DRASTICALLY RELATIVE ECONOMIC POWER OF DCS AND LDCS. LONG LIST OF ITEMS LDCS WILL PROBABLY INCLUDE AT LEAST THE FOLLOWING:

A. INCREASED EXPORT EARNINGS FROM PRIMARY COMMODITIES. THE DAKAR CONFERENCE, IN ESSENCE, CALLS FOR CARTELIZATION THROUGH ESTABLISHMENT OF PRODUCER ASSOCIATIONS AND AN UMBRELLA COUNCIL TO COORDINATE THEM. HOWEVER, A LESS EXTREME APPROACH DEALING COMPREHENSIVELY WITH MANY COMMODITIES BUT INVOLVING COOPERATION BETWEEN SUPPLIERS AND CONSUMERS HAS BEEN ADVOCATED BY MANY LDCS AT UNCTAD.

B. ASSURED FUTURE MARKETS THROUGH A "NEW INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR" UNDER WHICH DEVELOPED COUNTRY GOVERNMENTS WOULD REDIRECT DOMESTIC LABOR FROM LDC-COMPETITIVE INDUSTRY TO OTHER PRODUCTION.

C. INDEXATION OF LDC EXPORTS AS AGAINST IMPORTS FROM DCS IN ORDER TO PROTECT LDCS FROM CONSEQUENCES OF INFLATION IN DEVELOPED WORLD AND ALSO, PERHAPS, MONETARY FLUCTUATIONS.

D. EXPANSION OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ESPECIALLY OFFICIAL AID, DEBT RENEGOTIATION AND CANCELLATION, TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY ON BETTER TERMS, THE SDR-AID LINK AND A SERIES OF SPECIAL FUNDS, SUCH AS FOR LAND LOCKED AND LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES; COMBINED WITH EMPHASIS ON DEPENDABILITY AND "AUTOMATICITY" OF FLOWS.

E. PROTECTION AGAINST DC ECONOMIC PENETRATION
THROUGH LEGALLY BINDING CODES OF CONDUCT FOR SHIPPING,
INSURANCE, TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS.

F. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RIGHT TO AN ENHANCED LDC ROLE
IN ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING IN THE WORLD'S KEY ECONOMIC
AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE IBRD, IMF
AND GATT.

G. STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE UN TO CARRY OUT LDC
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ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES. THIS COULD INCLUDE GENERAL STEPS
LIKE TRYING TO GIVE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHERE THE LDC/
NON-ALIGNED MAJORITY IS MOST POTENT, MORE PLANNING AND
SUPERVISORY RESPONSIBILITY OVER VARIOUS PARTS OF UN
SYSTEM; AND SPECIFIC STEPS TO MAKE CONCRETE CHANGES IN
VARIOUS BODIES WITHIN THE UN SYSTEM, E.G. MAKING UNDP A
CAPITAL INVESTMENT INSTITUTION AS WELL AS A TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE AGENCY, OR TRANSFORMING UNCTAD INTO A COMPRE-
HENSIVE ACTION BODY TO SUPPLANT GATT.

6. U.S. INTERESTS. U.S. WILL HAVE MULTIPLICITY OF
INTERESTS IN CONNECTION WITH 7TH SS,--SUBSTANTIVE AND PRO-
CEDURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL. WHILE IT WILL BE SOME
TIME BEFORE USG DECIDES UPON POSSIBILITY OF ANY SPECIFIC
NEW SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS, WE CAN IDENTIFY NOW A NUMBER
OF GOALS WHICH IN ANY EVENT WILL BE OF IMPORTANCE TO US:

A. SUBSTANCE.

(1) 7TH SS WILL BE TAKING PLACE AGAINST BACKDROP OF
WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC CONTRACTION AND, IN MANY CASES, SERIOUS
HARDSHIP. WITH CRITICAL WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THUS
DEMANDING ATTENTION, WE BELIEVE THAT MAXIMUM PRACTICAL
GAIN FOR ALL COULD BE ACHIEVED BY CONCENTRATING DISCUSSION
AND SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT ON LIMITED NUMBER OF SPECIFIC
ACTIONS, AS OPPOSED TO EFFORT TO PRODUCE YET ANOTHER
CONTENTIOUS AND ALL EMBRACING CHARTER. TYPE OF MEASURES

AND APPROACH WE HAVE PROPOSED TO MEET WORLD FOOD PROBLEM
ARE OF THIS NATURE. AT SAME TIME, WE INTEND TO EXPRESS
WITH INCREASING CANDOR AND VIGOR GENERAL US APPROACHES TO
BASIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN AREAS WHERE WE HAVE BEEN
SUCCESSFUL (E.G. FOOD) AND WHERE WE THINK OTHERS WOULD
DO WELL TO LOOK MORE REALISTICALLY AT CHALLENGES AND
OPPORTUNITIES. WE ALSO INTEND IN THIS CONNECTION TO
COUNTER MORE ENERGETICALLY THAN IN PAST ALLEGATIONS THAT
ECONOMIC TROUBLES IN THE THIRD WORLD ARE ESSENTIALLY
RESULT OF DC POLICIES.

(11) WE HAVE RECOGNIZED, AS IN SECRETARY'S RECENT

SPEECH IN LOS ANGELES, GOAL OF IMPROVING THE STRUCTURE OF
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THE WORLD ECONOMY--IN COMMODITIES, TRADE, MONETARY RELATIONS AND INVESTMENT. THEREFORE, WE ARE SYMPATHETIC TO BASIC ASPIRATIONS OF LDCS TO WORK TOWARD MORE JUST AND EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC SYSTEM. HOWEVER, TO MAKE MEANINGFUL PROGRESS TOWARD THIS GOAL, WE WILL NEED TO IMPRESS ON LDCS THAT PROGRESS MUST BE BASED ON REALISTIC FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT IS TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION, THAT IT MUST BE DIRECTED TOWARDS GREATER PRODUCTION OF WEALTH RATHER THAN REDISTRIBUTION OF EXISTING WEALTH, AND THAT MEASURES MUST RELATE TO ACTUAL DYNAMICS OF INTERDEPENDENCE. WE WILL BE GUIDED IN OUR REVIEW BY DESIRE TO DEFINE APPROACHES WHICH ARE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL, FOR EXAMPLE, IN COMMODITY TRADE AREA, THE PROMOTION OF ASSURED SUPPLIES, STABILITY OF PRICES, AND EXPANSION IN SUPPLY OF RESOURCES FOR GROWTH OF LDCS AND DCS.

(111) RE STRUCTURAL REFORM OF UN. WE ARE STUDYING POSSIBLE INITIATIVES WHICH MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO EFFECTIVENESS OF UN SYSTEM IN CARRYING OUT PROGRAMS OF INTEREST TO BOTH DCS AND LDCS. SUCH PROPOSALS WILL BE DESIGNED TO BE NON-CONFRONTATIONAL. WE WILL, HOWEVER, DISCOURAGE CHARTER AMENDMENT AND OPPOSE PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO FURTHER CONCENTRATE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROL WITH THE LDCS/NON-ALIGNED.

B. PROCEDURE AND TACTICS. AT MINIMUM, WE WILL WORK TO PREVENT REPETITION OF "STEAMROLLER TACTICS" EMPLOYED BY LDCS/NON-ALIGNED AT 6TH SS BY WHICH FALSE CONSENSUS WAS REGISTERED AS DECISION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY. MOST CONSTRUCTIVE TYPE OF OUTCOME WOULD BE GA DECISIONS TO ENDORSE OR ENCOURAGE CERTAIN PROJECTS OR MEASURES ON WHICH THERE IS GENUINE AND BROAD CONSENSUS. WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL NOT TO DAMAGE ROLE AND STATUS OF VARIOUS BODIES LIKE WORLD BANK, IMF AND GATT, AND THEREFORE ANY DECISIONS OF UNGA WOULD BE MORE IN SENSE OF IDENTIFYING AND ENCOURAGING PRIORITY AREAS WHERE NEGOTIATION AND PROGRESS ARE POSSIBLE, RATHER THAN PURPORTING TO MAKE

DETAILED DECISIONS WHICH SHOULD REMAIN WITHIN COMPETENCE OF BODIES OTHER THAN UNGA. HOWEVER, EVEN IF 7TH SS IS NOT ABLE TO TAKE DECISIONS OF THE TYPE DESCRIBED ABOVE, IT WILL STILL BE A SIGNIFICANT STEP UP FROM LAST SPECIAL
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SESSION IF 7TH SS IS STIMULUS FOR MORE RESPONSIBLE EXPLORATION OF SERIOUS ECONOMIC ISSUES AND LEADS TO GREATER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF COMPLEX PROBLEMS. WHEN WE CHARACTERIZE 7TH SS AS CONSTITUTING SOMETHING OF A TEST, IT IS

NOT IN SENSE OF EXPECTING A REVOLUTION OR TOTAL REVERSAL IN THE BEHAVIOR OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. RATHER, WE WISH TO SEE WHETHER A NEW START CAN BE MADE TOWARD HANDLING IMPORTANT ISSUES IN MORE COOPERATIVE MANNER. WE HOPE THAT LDCS WILL COME TO ACCEPT THAT CONFRONTATION AND CO-OPERATION CANNOT CONTINUE TO CO-EXIST, THAT PURSUIT OF CONFRONTATION POLITICS AT UN WILL THREATEN VIABILITY OF ORGANIZATION AND JEOPARDIZE CONTINUING FULL US SUPPORT.

7. COMMENTS REQUESTED FROM POSTS. TO ASSIST IN OUR PREPARATIONS FOR 7TH SS WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING ANALYSIS AND SUGGESTIONS FROM ACTION ADDRESSEES WHICH WILL HELP US TO TARGET MOST EFFECTIVELY OUR FUTURE EFFORTS WITH LDCS. CAN POSTS IDENTIFY ANY EXISTING OR EMERGING SUBSTANTIVE INTERESTS WHICH MIGHT LEAD HOST COUNTRIES TO PURSUE INDIVIDUAL CONCERNS AND NEEDS IN DISCUSSION WITH DCS RATHER THAN TO FOLLOW TOTALLY THE MORE RADICAL LDC/NON-ALIGNED LEADERSHIP? (THIS QUESTION OBVIOUSLY NOT RELEVANT FOR SOME ADDRESSEES.) WE HAVE NOTED SOME EMERGING STRAINS BETWEEN CONSUMERS AND OIL PRODUCERS, E.G., PHILIPPINE PRESSURES AGAINST OIL PRODUCERS AT DAKAR CONFERENCE. WE HAVE ALSO HEARD OF GROWING RESENTMENT BY SOME LDCS AGAINST HIGH-HANDED STEAMROLLER TACTICS EMPLOYED BY ALGERIANS AT RECENT NON-ALIGNED AND LDC MEETINGS. CAN THIS SITUATION OPEN UP OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERIOUS CONSULTATIONS WITH LDCS WITH PROSPECT OF GREATER GENUINE COOPERATION LATER? WHAT IS LIKELY TO BE BEST METHOD, TIMING, VENUE AND LEVEL FOR CONSULTATIONS? OUR THINKING HAS BEEN THAT EXAMINATION OF PROBLEMS AND COORDINATION OF GENERAL APPROACHES SHOULD FIRST TAKE PLACE AMONG DCS AND SHOULD EXPAND TO LDCS.

8. GUIDANCE FOR POSTS. IN ADDITION TO ABOVE, IF IN COURSE OF REGULAR CONTACTS, EMBASSIES LEARN THINKING OF HOST OFFICIALS ON SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL ISSUES AFFECTING 7TH SS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE REPORTING ON THIS, AS WELL AS ANY INFORMATION REGARDING LDC/NON-ALIGNED GROUP CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTIVITIES, PLANNING OR INTERNAL DIVISIONS. POSTS SHOULD NOT MAKE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIONS AT THIS TIME. WE HAVE SELECTED ACTION ADDRESSEES IN EFFORT TO CONCENTRATE INITIAL ANALYSIS ON THOSE LDCS THAT HAVE EITHER PLAYED PARTICULARLY ACTIVE ROLE IN UN ECONOMIC ISSUES OR THAT MAY BE SYMPATHETIC TO OUR APPROACH. ANY INFO ADDRESSEES WHICH WISH TO DO SO MAY, OF COURSE, ALSO COMMENT ON QUESTIONS RAISED IN PARA 7. PLEASE INCLUDE USUN AND US MISSION GENEVA AS INFO ADDRESSEES ON RESPONSES AND SUBSEQUENT REPORTING. KISSINGER

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